FELLOWSHIP

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Appeal to the San Francisco Conference

A STATEMENT BY 54 RELIGIOUS LEADERS

THERE SHALL BE NO DICTATED PEACE. We have no desire to humiliate, crush, or defeat the German nation. Peace, to be lasting, must result from the agreement of all, and not from the dictation of a few nations.

—WINSTON CHURCHILL (November 1939)

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FROM MY STANDPOINT

John Haynes Holmes

PLACE — An American cemetery in northern France.

TIME—Memorial Day, 1945.

SPEAKERS—Two American soldiers who died in the last war.

"SEEMS LIKE OLD TIMES, doesn't it? All the boys over here again, fighting the Germans, and smashing things up generally."

"Yes—and getting killed just the way we got killed, and getting buried here in these graves! Say, what did *we* die for—to make a cemetery for these guys to lie in?"

"O, shucks! You know well enough what we were doing—fighting the war to end all wars. Don't you remember?"

"Sure I remember. Isn't that what the chaplain said to me when I was dying out there—that I had made the world safe, and everything now was going to be all right?"

"Yes, and look at things now! Here they are, the same armies, fighting in the same old place, and killing in the same old way. I guess we didn't do much of a job back there in 1918."

"We did the best we knew how—did all we were told to do. . . . We died, didn't we?"

"And a lot of good it did us, or anybody else! If we had never come over here at all, and had never died, things couldn't be any worse than they are now, and they might be a good deal better."

"And these fellows thinking they're doing today what we thought we were doing yesterday. It isn't fair! It isn't fair! I say it's a crime."

(*A long silence.*)

"I could stand this a good deal better if they didn't dress up our graves on these Memorial Days. Flowers and flags are easy. If they really wanted to do something worth while, and give us some little thanks for what we did, they'd see to it that they never sent any more men over here to lie alongside of us. They'd end these wars for good and all, and leave us alone. But Oh, no! There's always one more war. Memorial Day wouldn't amount to much if there weren't some brand new graves to decorate."

"You said it, boy; you said it!"

"I remember when I was a kid, how we used to go to the cemetery on Memorial Day, and how I'd think that all these ceremonies couldn't mean much to those that were buried there under the flags. Then I'd look at the big boys from the high school, the cadets all dressed up in their flashy uniforms, with the local band, and wonder what it meant to *them,* all ready for the next war. And it came—the Spanish-American War! Then the World War got us. And now here's another war getting the youngsters that followed us. It's just like reaping in the crop, and stowing it away!"

"And the seed always ready for the sowing, and the scythes always ready for the reaping!"

"And plenty of men and women ready to sow the seed and to swing the scythe!"

(*Silence again.*)

"Hear those guns! It doesn't sound so different from the way it did when we were up there. And the tramp, tramp, tramp—right along this road! Would you think they'd have the face to fight this thing all over again? When a guy looks at our graves, do you suppose he thinks of *his* grave, and wonders if some other guy will come along in another twenty years and look at it in this same way?"

"Say, do you know what I'd like to do!"

"What?"

"I'd like to get up out of this grave and show myself to these new armies on these old battlefields of ours. I'd like to have millions of us get up, with our grinning skulls and jangling bones, and just parade along the lines; march and march, till the rattle of our skeletons was louder than the rattle of the machine guns. Then I'd like to hear us laugh—laugh at the asininity of doing this business all over again every twenty years."

"No, no! You're all wrong."

"Wrong? Why?"

"Because these fellers here already understand. You don't have to teach them anything. But what have they got to *say* about it? A lot of them are too young even to vote. Let's go home with our parade. Let's march along the streets, and into the theatres and the night clubs! And down to Washington! Let's picket the White House, and the War Department, and the Navy Department — and the Capitol! That's the place for us to go. . . . "

"And out to the grave of the Unknown Soldier when it's decorated today. He'd join us, he would! He must be sicker of all this fol-de-rol than we are. And getting ready, too, to be shoved over for another Unknown Soldier to lie by his side! Good God, is this thing never going to end?"

"Not so you'd notice it! Do you know, Buddy, I've been doing a lot of thinking in the years we've been lying here—all about this fighting, and killing, and dying. And it seems to me there's something dead wrong about the whole business. Men are just fooling themselves, that's all. They're not getting anywhere. There's no end along this road. Not until everybody's dead, nobody left to fight. . . . Listen!

"Yeah, those guns again! How natural it all sounds. But this war ought to be over now before long. Then they'll lay out some more cemeteries, and dig some more graves, and put up some more monuments, and rebuild the old towns and farms. . . . And then they'll be all ready to go at it again."

"It won't be long before there'll be so many new graves to decorate that ours will be forgotten."

"Well, that's the way of it, Buddy. But don't you worry! It's the living who can't sleep, not the dead. Goodnight!"

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FELLOWSHIP

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May 1945 Vol. XI—No. 5

"Fight Like Hell!"

By BERNARD C. CLAUSEN*

THE THEME IS NOT ORIGINAL. It is a direct quotation from one of the greatest contemporary Americans. *Time* called him the "Man of the Year." American boys call him "General Ike" with an air of awed wonder.

Dwight Eisenhower is an authentic genius. His family came from Geneva, Switzerland, via York, Pennsylvania, to our American Middle West. His ancestors were River Brethren—a Baptist sect trying to behave like Quakers. His mother had watched the tides of the Civil War sweep back and forth over her Virginia homestead. Her father, a Virginian, had joined the Union army. But to her Confederates and Unionists alike were cruel, inhuman brutes with hard eyes and bitter voices. Years afterward, when she had sons of her own, she added her vivid memories to her deep religious convictions, as she pled with them, "Don't ever get into a war, my boys. Christ forbid you should be soldiers. Promise me now!" And her boys promised.

After young Dwight finished high school, however, someone suggested that if he wanted to play football and get a college education free of charge, he should apply for the examinations at Annapolis and West Point. He did. When his mother knew he had been selected for West Point, she exclaimed in heart-broken dismay, "But West Point is the Army!" Her son reassured her, "Don't worry, Mom. There will never be another war. I'll just get some good engineering courses, play football a little, then resign as soon as I can after graduation and come back to peaceful Kansas." On that condition she allowed him to go.

Too Late for World War I

I remember the day he graduated, for it was the same bright June morning when I was receiving my college diploma at Colgate University, June 13, 1915. I remember the day he was slated to go overseas for war service, after months of training duty in American camps. It was Nov. 18, 1918, and I recall it because the troopship that was to carry him was part of a convoy which the cruiser on which I was serving had been assigned to guard against submarine attacks in the North Atlantic passage. But the armistice was signed on November 11—just one week before he was due to leave—so the convoy was cancelled and he never reached the European theatre of World War I.

For 20 years, after the First World War was ended, Eisenhower fulfilled the demands of military duty without any promotion, but never was quite able to break with it all and go back to Kansas. When Chamberlain came back from Munich, convinced that he had purchased by reasonableness "peace in our time," Eisenhower publicly proclaimed his gratitude to the English statesman, insisting that any decent arrangement for peace might give the world a chance to relieve the tensions and so avert the dreadful explosion of a world conflict. But when the armies started to move, and the American troops began their practice maneuvers in Louisiana, Eisenhower was in the midst of the artificial strategic problems. He devised a set of tactics so brilliant, so original, so touched with genius, that his forces destroyed their theoretical enemy, and his name was starred for attention and promotion. With dizzying speed he was catapulted within a few months to the very summit of the Army command, and finally was sent to London to take charge of the whole plan for the European battle.

Brains of the Invasion

In this position he was compelled to train our millions of troops, to study the complicated considerations of military and political adjustments, and finally to decide, on his own responsibility, the fateful hour for the beginning of the invasion. He ordered the sweep across France and predicted that the war would be over before 1945; then he saw the parachute army fail to turn the northern end of the German line in the critical assault upon Arnheim, and watched the mounting American casualty lists that followed the bitter disappointment. It was in the midst of this anxiety, late in 1944, when his plans had been broken and his forecast had been repudiated by the facts, that he said in a press interview, "Fight like hell! We must fight like hell!"

It was not careless profanity, for Eisenhower has never been a foul-mouthed man. It was thoughtless exaggeration. His words were passed by the censor, and sent by broadcast and news reports around the world by authorization of the Office of War Information. When he said those words, he apparently intended them as a precise and meaningful description.

* Minister of the Euclid Avenue Baptist Church, Cleveland, Ohio.

I have watched parachute commandoes taught to "fight like hell." Some of them have been gentle, sensitive lads from my Sunday school classes. Before they are ready they must learn how to stain their suits and splotch their faces and hands with camouflage paint, and to approach and attack a waiting soldier in absolute silence. They must be skilled in the tricks that a well-directed knee can do with the sensitive groin of the foe, and the agility which enables their thumbs to squeeze out the eye-balls of their surprised enemy. Even to a hardened soldier that must seem like hell.

Or perhaps Eisenhower was thinking about the vast panorama of night battle, with searchlights and ack-ack and darting planes, and the low rumble of robot bombs, and the smoke and stench of burning cities. Dante never let his imagination conjure up such a scene; Dore has no such material for his pictures of the inferno. To every beholder such a titanic struggle, under the darkened sky must look like hell at its worst.

We may be tempted to excuse ourselves by saying, "But we are not alone in this. Our foes are doing the same terrible things, and sometimes doing them first. The enemy invented robombs. We must do what we can to defend ourselves. They are shamelessly slaughtering too!" That is what helps to make it hell. Compelled by the same fears, urged by the same hopes, inspired by the same indignations, both sides are doing the same brutal things. Was this part of General Eisenhower's mind, as he said with solemn seriousness, "Fight like hell!"?

Another Kind of Fighting

I cannot dispute the accuracy of his description, nor the urgency of his appeal. But I can tell you that there is another kind of fighting. There is such a thing as to "fight like heaven." It involves all those who struggle not "with flesh and blood, but with evil principalities and powers in high places." Their breastplate is righteousness, their shield is faith, their helmet is salvation, their sword is the spirit. Their feet are shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace. Having taken unto themselves the whole armor of God, they do not invade, they do not destroy, they do not even punish. They stand, strong in the Lord and in the power of his might, against the wiles of the devil. Having done all, they stand.

In this kind of spiritual warfare, Christians are expected to be specialists. It is this they mean when they sing, "Onward, Christian Soldiers," "Fight the Good Fight," or "Am I Soldier of the Cross?" These words do not fit Eisenhower's phrase. They inspire us to fight like heaven.

A business man joins the ranks of these spiritual warriors when he turns aside from the temptations of exorbitant speculative profits and uses his ingenuity to provide full employment in a free society. A technical expert lends his aid when he refuses flattering salary rewards and puts his skill at the disposal of an enterprise like the Tennessee Valley Authority, where the profit produced is used for the good of all the people. That father and mother enlisted when they turned away from the casket of their aviator son and, in lovely dedication, promised me they would use every dollar and every hour they could spare until they died to make war forever impossible in the future world. The same is true of the young volunteers who bare their arms to receive the jaundice filth or the malarial poison which may ruin or kill them, but not until the doctors have discovered some new secret which may save thousands of others.

Even a soldier, in uniform, may choose, if he will, to fight like heaven. There is such a soldier in John Hersey's famous story called *A Bell for Adano*. He is an Italian-American officer, given responsibility for administering one of the liberated towns near Rome. He runs up an American flag over the town hall, and then tries to get the people to enjoy a taste of democracy at its best. He explains, "No one is to be the boss. All of us will share in the work. After you get used to it, you will enjoy it more than anything in the world!" The inhabitants of the town, after they come to know and love him, decide to honor Joppolo by having his portrait painted. The local artist confesses that while he can catch the shape of his nose and the curve of his mouth, he cannot seem to depict the light in his eyes they all detect, which shows them that he wants all of them to be happy. As the officer lives through his busy hours, administering and changing the town of Adano, a high-ranking general comes speeding through the town in his staff car enroute to the battle front. He is slightly delayed by a mule-cart that is stalled in the road. With wild profanity he orders the cart, mule, and all to be thrown over the cliff and dashed into ruins on the river bed below. Then he issues a general directive, "No more mule-carts in Adano!" Joppolo realizes that the bringing of supplies from the countryside into the village to save his new friends from starvation depends upon mule-carts. So when the general is gone, he countermands the order. The general hears of it, far up in the battle line. With grim fury he breaks Joppolo, and sends him back in disgrace.

Do not be tempted to conclude that this is always the result when men who fight like heaven confront men who fight hell. The life of Jesus is our eternal refutation for such pessimism. He, too, was compelled to choose his way of conflict. He thought it all through during the days of his temptation. He taught the heavenly warfare to all his disciples, and grieved when they were tempted to more swift satisfaction. In the end, he too was broken—or so his foes claimed. But his experience is proof that a life devoted to fighting like heaven never dies—that no battlers-like-hell can stamp it out. Let the big brawling general, with his blood and guts and his pagan prayers, understand that long after his violent life is dust and silence, the gentle creative patience of Joppolo (whatever his real name may be) will go on living in the vast and invincible human enterprise that we call the kingdom of God.

Man of the Year

Viewed in this light, the man of the year is not Eisenhower nor Nimitz, admirable men though they may be. The great name of recent months is Dr. Alexander Fleming, who discovered penicillin, and who asked nothing for it save a chance to go on perfecting it. His efforts, so scientists compute, will save more human lives than the whole war can destroy. His name shall live forever, in the bright and beautiful tradition of beneficent human service.

I do not deny that Eisenhower and Nimitz are good men and, in their own department of life, undoubtedly

geniuses. They happen to be caught in the wrong business. War is on the way out. It must and will be discarded, not merely because it has become suicidally destructive, but because it now violates every ethical implication of our religious faith. The purpose behind the universe will not tolerate it much longer.

When war has been outlawed and the human family has learned to live without violent conflict, the generals and admirals will fade into oblivion, as we try to forget one of the horrible nightmares of the human story. They will be recalled as good men, like the pious Christians who served the brutal Inquisition, or the preachers who quoted Scripture in defense of human slavery, or the respected church members who fattened themselves and their families on the exorbitant profits of speculative enterprise while their workers died like rats in the slums around their mills.

Then these present years will be remembered for the gentle people like Alexander Fleming, who had courage enough to fight, as we *should* fight, with all the weapons of God, against all the hosts of darkness—to fight like heaven.

"A Habitation Fit to Dwell In"

[*This appeal to the San Francisco Conference was issued by the Meeting for Sufferings of the Friends in Great Britain and has been endorsed by the American Friends Service Committee in this country.* THE EDITORS.]

IT IS OUR CONVICTION that peace can only be securely established as the unity of mankind is recognized and practiced.

No one denies that our world is for many purposes today a single entity: economic interdependence, the development of rapid transport, of wireless and other modern inventions have brought the ends of the world together; and it is therefore both necessary and fitting that the statesmen of the world should continue the process already begun of providing suitable permanent machinery for the expression of the common life of the whole human race. The immediate objectives of such machinery must be the prevention of war and the promotion of intercourse, but if the structure to be built at San Francisco is to rest on firm foundations it must give adequate expression to the great truth that the human race is one family, a truth recognized from ancient times by religious and philosophic teachers, and accepted in principle by all civilized peoples. The peoples of the world are united not simply by economic circumstances but by the essential spiritual nature of man. Men of every race and nation must be the beneficiaries of the new world order.

Much of the disorder of modern times has arisen from the worship of power and from competition for power. We are all in some measure responsible before God for this tragedy of mankind. We are none of us utterly divorced from our fellows either by complete perfection or by utter depravity. If our new world is to be securely built, it must arise from a fellowship founded in repentance and in a common effort to build afresh and quite differently.

Peace rests upon the confidence of good will. The concentration of overwhelming power may temporarily prevent any fresh outbreak of aggression, but such measures are only a precarious expedient. Not by coercion and penalties will the world be turned from war and competing armaments, but by the single-minded pursuit of the individual well-being of ordinary men and women.

Among the most fruitful developments of the Geneva system have been the work of such bodies as the International Labor Organization, the Health Organization and the Central Opium Board. All these have involved common effort for a common benefit. This lays the ground for confidence. It is the experience of the Society of Friends in its relief and reconciliation work that it is not enough to do good to others. One must work not so much for them as alongside of them. They must be brought into a common undertaking. In the forefront of any General International Organization must stand the machinery for effective economic and cultural collaboration. The hope of peace lies in mutual co-operation in international reconstruction and public works, in concerted measures against poverty and disease, in educational collaboration and in the establishment together of the freedoms and responsibilities essential for the common man. Provision must also be made for the world control of mineral resources, raw materials, migration problems and other vital functions of the world community. As such steps are taken, the way will open to a progressive and willing "abandonment of the use of force" by all nations and to universal disarmament, as foreshadowed in the Atlantic Charter.

Nations will also come to accept third party judgment in all international disputes, political and economic. For the good of humanity is paramount and to this every state, however powerful, should be prepared to bow.

The world today is passing through a trough of cynicism and of doubt in human nature and human destiny. There are many who think that the best the world can hope for is a precarious peace based on overwhelming force, lasting perhaps fifteen or twenty years. We trust that the delegates at San Francisco will not allow themselves to be paralyzed by this cynicism. Mankind, in spite of the unspeakable cruelties and brutalities that we have been witnessing, can respond to noble ideals and purposes; it awaits leadership of courage and integrity. The welcome accorded to the Atlantic Charter was noteworthy. It was taken to be a call to all men to build a new world of moral foundations, not a statement of rights for the victorious nations. We suggest that its original purpose be reasserted; this will help to cure the current cynicism.

We hope that you, as members of the San Francisco conference, will keep steadily before your minds the needs of all oppressed and forgotten men and women, war-ravaged and starving, whether in Europe, Asia, Africa or elsewhere, and those who have hitherto been denied the economic, cultural, and spiritual benefits now available for all men. May it be given to you to meet these needs and to set up for all men, for all God's people, a habitation fit to dwell in.

RETURNING NEGRO VETERANS HAVE EVERYTHING TO GAIN BY NON-VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION IN—

The Coming Revolt Against Jim Crow

By JAMES FARMER*

NEARLY A MILLION NEGRO YOUTHS have been inducted into the nation's armed forces. These men have been told that they are fighting against the theory of the "master race" and for freedom from the terrors of exploitation. That lofty aim they have in large measure accepted, though sensing an inconsistency in fighting abroad to protect for others the rights which they themselves have never enjoyed. Furthermore, their treatment, while in uniform, by their own countrymen and superior officers, has often been such as to lead them to question the war aims professed by their superiors and their government.

These Negro Americans upon returning to their native land, will find Jim Crow still alive and kicking. The bullets they have hurled at the master-race monster abroad, their blood that was spilt, will not have destroyed the monstrous master-race concept at home!

We do not know whether the American people realize how shameful, wicked, and tragic it is that this should be so. These young Negroes will have gone through all that other servicemen have of weariness, of danger, pain, disfigurement, horror. But in addition they will have experienced almost constant discrimination of one kind or another and frequent humiliation, and this while fighting a war allegedly fought to put an end to such things!

Even if Negroes did not object to a continuation of Jim Crow, others who profess and believe in democracy and Christianity, and especially members of such organizations as the Fellowship of Reconciliation, could not rest easy in mind and conscience. As individuals they would certainly feel that nothing could justify the continuation of Jim Crow practices, and that they must do everything in their power to persuade their fellow men throughout the land to abandon such discrimination.

Think of the material and spiritual loss and woe, for colored and whites alike, represented by racial discrimination and segregation. Think of the certainty of racial conflict if the situation is not soon remedied. Think, on the other hand, what it would mean if as the war draws to a close the people of this land were to take their stand squarely on the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the findings of all reputable modern science, and the teachings of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, and were to launch a crusade for racial democracy and the practice of complete brotherhood in relations between the races.

But of course the Negro people are not disposed to submit to the old Jim Crow pattern. The returning Negro servicemen certainly will not be in a submissive mood. They will be resentful, bold, aggressive. After facing an inferno of the land, of the seas, of the skies, they will not be deterred by the worst that Negro-baiters can throw at them in penalty for their insistence upon equality. Even now they are saying openly that when they return they will not tolerate the same old treatment. And they won't.

Here, then, will be a veritable volcano of revolt. This is true, whether we like it or not! The experiences burning in the memories of these men, and the temper of the times will urge them on to vigorous resistance to race discrimination in post-war America. Counseling them to show no extraordinary resistance, for fear of arousing reprisals, would be like admonishing a man not to dislodge a stinging hornet from his neck lest he attract other hornets as well. His whole being cries out that the hornet must be dislodged. And even so, Negro veterans will feel irresistibly impelled to resist.

But what will be the pattern of their resistance? How will they protest? There is no question in this hour more vital. Will it be a disorganized, scattered, and aimless protest, like a man striking out blindly against his assailant? If so, it will be ineffectual. Will their training in the use of brute force on the battle front drive them to violence on the homefront? When the Negro veteran is ordered to conform to Jim Crow seating in transportation or is refused service in a restaurant, will he retaliate with impetuous outbursts of resentment and vengeance? If so, his approach will be suicidal.

We have already pointed out that it would be both wrong and useless to conclude that we should counsel Negro ex-servicemen to submit to a perpetuation of practices which not only injure and humiliate them but also undermine the foundations of our democracy. On the other hand, it is certainly not for others to tell them what to do—especially others who have not shared their war experiences and might not be able to share the trials and difficulties resulting from opposition to Jim Crow. Yet it may be that these veterans have a special responsibility to remove these evils.

The returned Negro veterans may be called upon to do what the Negro people have failed to do in the past. No great and oppressive evil is ever truly wiped out until the people oppressed by that evil, together with their sympathizers, refuse to participate in and co-operate with that evil. Too often in the past we Negroes have opposed Jim Crow verbally, while in practice, however reluctantly, we have accepted it. The next step is to refuse to accept it in practice. In this the ex-servicemen can and should lead the way. The very fact that they are veterans of the "war for the freedoms" will have a dramatic and emotional appeal which can only with difficulty be ignored. Their protest will be not merely a protest of Negroes, but will be a protest of Negro youth who have risked their lives, many of whom have been wounded, crippled, and broken, in a war which their nation told them was for democracy and freedom. They will be asking simply for a share of the democracy for which they fought. And with such a mild and reasonable request many will surely sympathize.

* Co-secretary of the FOR Race Relations Department.

We submit for consideration and study the suggestion that one way to make the coming protest of veterans effective would be to organize an *Ex-Servicemen's Association Against Discrimination.* This proposed organization should in itself bear no trace of the racism which it endeavors to destroy. To achieve maximum effectiveness, it should be open to all veterans of this war, without distinctions of race, color, or creed—it should welcome all who will completely renounce racial caste and will launch persistent planned action against Jim Crow in all its manifestations.

These men, accustomed to Army discipline, should be given another discipline, equally as exacting, through which they will assiduously refrain from violence, in the realization that any violence used in this program will react against the cause. This cannot be overemphasized. Entirely apart from the principle involved, violence on the part of persons opposing racial injustice in America is a boomerang—suicidal. Not only do they lack the implements for successfully carrying on violent struggle, but if they try it they alienate many friends and neutrals whose sympathy they need. In addition, the police are honestly performing their duty when they restrain persons using violence, however just the cause.

A Negro Veteran Says:

"Can Negroes as a composite group successfully develop pacifist methods to combat Jim Crow? The answer is obviously affirmative. Has he not 'passively' submitted himself to Jim Crow for almost a century? Then why not 'passively' fight against it? Given competent leadership, I think that the Negro veteran's thinking may be directed into pacifist channels."

What is needed, therefore, is for the proposed *Ex-Servicemen's Association Against Discrimination* to launch a systematic program of non-violent direct action against Jim Crow in transportation, in public places, and in housing—a program co-ordinated with the efforts of other organizations in this direction. The more promptly and efficiently we pursue other means, such as legislation against discriminatory practices and provision of jobs for all, the less need there will be for direct action. Greater accomplishment may be anticipated also if white veterans of this war, who are interested in the same cause, would join with their Negro comrades in the organization and its program. We have already indicated that a grave responsibility for making democracy a reality in relations between the races rests upon the majority group and that many of them keenly feel that responsibility.

In public transportation, where Jim Crow customs and laws prevail, these Negro ex-servicemen would ignore the segregation pattern by refusing to sit in the rear sections of buses and street cars or in the Jim Crow coaches on trains. This they should do with a careful lack of belligerency, and when challenged they should show necessary credentials quietly and without antagonism, explain their action on the ground of being ex-servicemen who have fought for "democracy and freedom" in their nation's armed forces, and point out that they are simply seeking to enjoy the things here for which they fought abroad.

At the same time their white comrades should make evident their support and insist upon the justice of their position. There should be a carefully planned effort to interpret the incident to other persons present, through quiet conversations or possibly through distribution of explanatory leaflets or cards. In case violence is used against them, they should refrain from retaliating with violence, and should remain peaceful. In case the police are summoned, they should peacefully submit to arrest, and the program of interpreting what has happened should be continued by white and Negro comrades who have remained sufficiently out of the controversy to avoid arrest. This should be repeated again and again.

In places of public accommodation, a similar pattern should be followed. The ex-servicemen should enter discriminatory restaurants, for example, and seek service. If refused, they should employ non-violent resistance against this injustice on the grounds of their status as ex-servicemen in the struggle for freedom and against the superrace theory of Hitlerism. The same program of interpreting what is happening should be carried on. If circumstances should invite, it may be well for one of the men, here as well as in transportation, preferably one of the white comrades, to make a speech on the spot, appealing to the sense of decency of the other people present.

In a campaign against racially restrictive residential agreements, Negro veterans, with the aid of white veterans, should seek to purchase homes and secure leases on apartments in restricted areas. Intimidation should be resisted non-violently. If court cases are forthcoming, they should be carried on with the aid of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the American Civil Liberties Union, and other organizations within whose jurisdiction such cases fall. Throughout the procedure, the fact that the men involved are ex-servicemen should be exploited to the utmost for its public relations value. In other areas of action, such as employment, the fact that men discriminated against are ex-servicemen should be utilized with the greatest diligence in support of the efforts of labor unions and Fair Employment Practices Committees.

It is important to emphasize that the program of *interpretation* will be quite as crucial as the program of *action.* In the past, members of veterans' organizations have used their status as ex-servicemen for reactionary ends; it would be sheer criminal neglect if they now fail to use that status for revolutionary ends. Veterans' organizations traditionally have espoused patriotism; this one would espouse a new and dynamic, a more broadly based and genuine patriotism.*

This proposal, executed with imagination, I submit, can achieve tremendous gains for racial democracy. Through it, returning Negro G.I.'s would be genuine heroes in the homefront struggle. The indebtedness of the Negro people to them would be immeasurable. The indebtedness of all Americans and all lovers of democracy throughout the world would be as great.

* In the course of discussions some question has been raised as to whether the Association suggested here would be the best or only instrument for achieving the objectives set forth. The projects outlined could obviously be carried out under varied auspices. The editors would welcome comments on this point.

As They Starve, They Study

By PAUL BOWMAN, JR.*

IN A UNIQUE SCIENTIFIC EXPERIMENT at the University of Minnesota, thirty-six conscientious objectors are now in the sixth month of a test subjecting them to a calculated degree of starvation, under controlled laboratory conditions, in order to determine the best diets for bringing back to normal the millions of semi-starved war victims in Europe and elsewhere. Dr. Ancel Keys, Director of the Laboratory of Physiological Hygiene at the University states:

"At present there is very little concrete information as to the consequences of semi-starvation and the efficiency of various nutritional rehabilitation regimens with human beings. Such knowledge is greatly needed for planning and operation of relief feeding. The acquisition of detailed information on these points would be a major contribution to the problem of relief feeding not only as related to the present war, but for the future in all parts of the world. Efforts made to supply such knowledge would have practical utility far beyond the same amount of effort applied to any direct feeding relief."

The conscientious objectors who volunteered and were picked for this experiment have further undertaken a program of concomitant study and self training in problems of rehabilitation and relief in order to prepare themselves for service in Europe after the war is over. They have thus, for the first time in history, organized a Study-As-You-Starve School-of-Foreign-Relief in which the starvation was voluntary.

I

The idea of this double project originated with a small group of CPS men who were serving over a year ago as subjects for nutritional and psychological experiments at the University. They carried their concern to the staff of the Laboratory of Physiological Hygiene at the University, and Director Ancel Keys designed an experiment of one year's duration in which 36 subjects would be gradually starved to a state of malnutrition as nearly comparable to actual conditions in under-fed areas as could be ascertained by available reports from the field.

The Service Committees of four denominations, led by the Church of the Brethren, were interested in the value of the plan to their future relief programs, and their pledge of financial and administrative support made the idea practicable. Finally, with the approval of Selective Service the project became assured, and the call for volunteers went out to CPS units over the nation. The greatest problem of recruiting volunteers was in choosing among the many applicants—this in spite of the high physical and psychological standards required, and the prospects of extreme physical discomfort during the experiment.

The thirty-six men selected are now being carefully observed as they proceed on their starvation program. By means of highly exacting physiological and psychological tests, their controlled starvation will provide valuable information about the kinds of mental and bodily deterioration directly attributable to undernourishment. The first three months were devoted to a standardization diet of 3200 calories per day, and a rigorous program of exercise insured the expenditure of equal caloric energy each day. Now the diet has been cut to only 1800 calories with low protein and borderline vitamin content, and daily exercise is continued at a rate to expend 3200 calories. It is anticipated that each man will lose from 20 to 30 per cent of his body weight in the six months' semi-starvation period.

The most important aspect of the experiment, in terms of the men's motivation to take part in it, will be the three-month rehabilitation diets to discover what food elements are most important to restore bodies that have been warped by hunger. It is expected that the results of this part of the study will have immediate application in rehabilitation feeding, and it will also serve as the basis for further research as science faces the recurrent problems of famine all over the world.

Concurrent with the starvation study, the laboratory is continuing its program of vitamin research, using twelve other CPS men as subjects. The total unit of 65 men also includes 17 serving as technical and administrative assistants. The men live on the campus under the stadium, where the laboratory also is housed.

II

In addition to physical and psychological considerations, another important factor in the selection of men for this project was their interest in and aptitude for foreign relief service. Consequently, while acting as guinea pigs, they have launched an ambitious program of training for post-war service abroad.

In the time which is not required for the experiment, each man is following a course of training determined by his talents and previous experience, designed to fit him for his maximum contribution when the experiment is concluded. Reports on conditions in Europe are continuously studied so that preparation for service there can be as realistic as possible. Through the Service Committees, the International FOR, and other agencies, specific assignments for the men will be provided as soon as they can be released from Selective Service control, or as soon as legal restraints which now bar conscientious objectors from service abroad are removed by Congress.

At the suggestion of an education advisory committee representing the religious administrative agencies, the unit has set up a number of special study groups to prepare members for specific roles in the enormous task of re-establishing the foundations of peace in war-ravaged areas. The main over-all jobs of relief feeding and repatriation of populations will of course fall to governmental agencies, and these phases of the job may be well under way by the time CPS men now being trained can be placed in the field. Therefore the principal concern at Minneapolis is to develop methods of building bonds of human understanding on a man to man basis, in the teeth of terrific nationalistic sentiments that war inevitably engenders. It is a question of finding where and how to apply a given

* Recently returned from rehabilitation work with the Brethren Service Committee in Europe and South America, and now serving as Relief Training Director of the project described in this article. He was assisted in the preparation of this article by W. Jarrot Harkey and Robert W. Stevens, also on the staff of the Minneapolis unit.

amount of good will so that it will do the most toward rekindling around the world a sense of human fellowship.

Language training is of first importance, and intensive courses in French, German, and Spanish are in progress, being taught by qualified members of the starvation group. Other men in the unit are pooling their skills in various technical studies. The problems of particular regions of the world are being studied. There are also courses in laboratory techniques, nutrition, and other types of training for the field.

The facilities of the university and the services of visiting lecturers are being used to study social work, selected European problems, relief work techniques, and recreational therapy. A number of men are serving with social agencies and hospitals in their spare time, to gain practical experience with people.

A community study, on the seminar basis, has been organized to meet the need for a flexible program during months of low energy and poor concentration. It is designed to tie our many courses into training that may be of direct benefit to the pacifist who goes abroad to serve. Since it is expected that these men, if given the opportunity to help in the rehabilitation program, will likely find themselves working in local communities with the persons who are native there, this seminar study is directed to community problems—social organization, recreation, nutrition, economic practices, and psychology—and how the pacifist relief worker can best co-operate in the community to make himself and his motive of fellowship understood.

Not to be despised as part of this training program are the pangs of hunger themselves. One who has never known privation is ill fitted to minister to the needs of sensitive and intelligent persons less favorably treated by the devastation of war. By having shared to some degree in the "community of suffering," the starved guinea pigs will be better able to meet war victims on common ground.

At the suggestion of W. Harold Row, executive director of Brethren CPS, the unit plans to explore further the volunteer work community pattern as a means of both physical and non-physical rehabilitation. It is the genius of this approach that members of different races and economic groups get to know and respect each other as individual human beings while doing a job such as putting up a house, or laying sewer pipes, or conducting a nursery school.

The Minneapolis guinea pigs are asking why young people from divers national and cultural backgrounds should not roll up their sleeves and together attack the wreckage of war at war's roots, together build that spirit which takes away all occasion for fighting?

Appeal to San Francisco Conference

To the Delegates Representing the United States at the San Francisco Conference:

WE SPEAK AS CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES and also as members of the Christian Church, a world fellowship which transcends nation, race, and class, and stands under a divine compulsion to serve the world, with equal responsibility for all people.

The eyes of the multitudes in all lands turn now to you and to your fellow-delegates to the San Francisco Conference from other nations. These multitudes are appalled by the awful price that is being paid for our past failure to organize the world for brotherhood and peace and their hearts are filled with desperate longing to prevent the catastrophe of a third world war. In these circumstances a fearful responsibility rests upon the delegates to San Francisco; equally great is the opportunity before you.

Conditions of Peace

Deep in our hearts we are all aware that in a moral universe peace can be had only on certain conditions:

1. *There will be no peace if we attempt to build world-organization on that concept of a master race or master nation which has cost millions of lives and brought incalculable destruction, material and moral, upon mankind Nor can peace be built on the domination of the world by any small group of nations, on any form of imperialism, political, economic, or military.* The plan for world organization should provide, therefore, genuine self-government for all nations and peoples within the framework of regional and world co-operation.

2. *There can be no peace or world organization based on vengeance or the seizure of spoils by the victors.* The division of the world into "peace-loving" nations and the rest, under which it has come to pass that nations must declare war to receive the title of "peace loving," is historically untenable and in flat contradiction to the concept of One World. *Membership in the world organization should be open to all nations on the basis of honest acceptance of the principles on which the organization is founded.*

3. *There can be no security in a world of competitively armed states.* To speak of *collective* security and the necessity of immense *national* military establishments in the same breath is a mockery and fraud. The two contradict each other; the one is conceivably a factor in world order; the other is an agent of isolationism, insecurity, and domination. Provision must be made, therefore, for drastic all-round reduction of armaments—and eventual disarmament—and for the elimination of peacetime conscription by general agreement.

4. *There can be no peace on a perpetuation of economic disadvantages and inequalities.* Emphasis should be placed on constructive measures to right economic wrongs, provide fair access for all peoples to raw materials, and secure the rights of individuals everywhere regardless of nationality, race, color, or creed, thus removing deep seated causes which dispose people to resort to war. The Economic-Social Council proposed in the Dumbarton Oaks plan and other functional agencies through which the economic and cultural life of the world may be restored should be made real and strong.

Deterioration of International Relations

In recent years, and at an ominously accelerated pace in recent months, the world has been moving away from these goals and international relations have deteriorated. The declarations of Teheran, Cairo, and Yalta exemplify the exercise of arbitrary power by three big nations, the United States, Great Britain, and Russia. The principles of the Atlantic Charter are being openly and flagrantly violated. In the Yalta declaration, for example, the principle of "no aggrandizement, territorial, or other" (Atlantic Charter, Point I) is abandoned. The Soviet Union is aggrandized at the expense of Poland and Poland, in turn, is invited to aggrandize herself at the expense of Germany. The territorial changes decided upon are not made dependent upon "the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned" (Atlantic Charter, Point II). The Yalta declaration speaks of "the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those peoples who have been forcibly deprived of them." But to these words, drawn from the Atlantic Charter (Point III), it adds the qualifying phrase, "by the aggressor nations." Thus only those who have been deprived of sovereignty or self-government by the Axis powers are to be given the benefit of freedom. The Yalta decisions regarding Germany reflect a spirit quite different from that which in the Atlantic Charter sought the "economic prosperity" of "all States, great or small, victor or vanquished" (Atlantic Charter, Point IV).

Such decisions as these strike dismay and terror into the peoples of the small nations and into the hearts of democratic elements all over the world. Moreover, collaboration of the big powers in such terms and for such ends is itself precarious, as events since Yalta have demonstrated. It is likely to collapse when no longer confronted by a common foe.

Dumbarton Oaks in this setting and unamended is almost certain to prove a mere camouflage for the continuation of imperialist policies and the exercise of arbitrary power by the Big Three for the domination of other nations. This would not be that world organization based on justice under law for which the war-scourged peoples long.

Four Changes in Dumbarton Oaks

The opportunity to stop the deterioration of international relations and to take a real step toward peace and world organization will be yours at San Francisco. To this end the following steps should be taken:

1. *In order that the conditions of peace stated above may be fulfilled, the preamble to the General International Organization should state the purposes of justice set forth in the Atlantic Charter and should make it clear that these principles must guide the organizations, its departments, and its agents in their deliberations and actions.*

2. *The Assembly should be more than an advisory body. It should have power to lay down general rules for the peaceful conduct of international relations. It should have the over-all authority to review and revise any decisions made by the Peace Settlements.*

3. *Radical alteration should be made in the proposed voting arrangements under which each great power in the Security Council has a veto over every dispute which arises. As things now stand any one of the Big Five powers may veto application of sanctions in a dispute in which it is itself involved and veto consideration of disputes in which it is not involved.* The big powers think they will achieve security through such rigid control. Actually such rigidities imperil the whole structure of peace. The Big Three are going to require all the other nations to take the risk of participation in an organization which does not guarantee veto power to these others. Unless the big powers take the same risk, they will not have built a workable structure.

4. *In order that peaceful change may be facilitated and resort to war thus rendered unnecessary, the constitution of the world organization should be subject to amendment by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the Assembly and such amendment should not be subject to a veto right vested in a few Great Powers.*

If the San Francisco Conference adjourns without action to set up a world organization, you who represent the United States and your fellow-delegates will leave a world of anarchy and the probable result will be a third world war. If you set up a world organization in name only which will serve merely as a screen for another unholy alliance of victor powers, that also will leave the world in anarchy and the probable result will be a third world war.

This need not be. The people of our own country and of all the lands are ready to respond to leadership which will summon them to turn now in a new direction: summon them to faith and hope—faith that the world is God's world and hope that mankind can rid itself of war and build a lasting and creative peace.

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REV. HAROLD BOSLEY, D.D.
REV. GEORGE A. BUTTRICK, D.D.
PROF. HENRY J. CADBURY
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E. RAYMOND WILSON
WINNIFRED WYGAL
REV. WILLIAM LINDSAY YOUNG, D.D.

Biddle and Four Organizations Urge Better Treatment of COs

Proposals for the improvement of our nation's treatment of its conscientious objectors have recently come from five significant sources. Attorney General Biddle has suggested numerous reforms to Congress; the American Friends Service Committee has presented a memorandum to General Hershey; the National Service Board for Religious Objectors has asked the Attorney General for reforms in the handling of COs in prison; the Federal Council of Churches has sent a resolution asking reforms to Congress and several government agencies; and the American Civil Liberties Union's National Committee for COs has sent the Attorney General a statement urging a solution of the problem presented by the imprisonment of nearly three thousand Jehovah's Witnesses, the latter statement carrying the signatures of 32 prominent Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish leaders.

Attorney General Biddle in his Annual Report to Congress says that we have not met the conscientious objector "problem—or more accurately this series of problems—with entire satisfaction." He suggests indirectly that the provision relating to "religious training and belief" ought to be extended to provide also for those who are COs by reason of "political, philosophical or social beliefs." In order to prevent imprisonment of Jehovah's Witnesses —2,500 are in prison at this time— Congress should be "willing either to alter the ordinary concept of ministers, or to grant absolute exemption to COs." The absolutists, he points out, "have been given separate classification and exemptions under the English law. Short of this, they will continue to be a constant source of difficulty."

Mr. Biddle supports the suggestion that the wages earned by COs for farm work, and which they have been forced to surrender to the U.S. Treasury, should be made available for CO dependents. This fund now amounts to $850,000. It is reported that the House Military Affairs Committee has approved a bill that would accomplish this.

Finally, the Attorney General proposes that matters relating to COs should be removed from the jurisdiction of Selective Service and referred to a board "having final discretion with respect to their proper individual assignment to suitable and useful work."

The AFSC asks that the wording of the Selective Service act be altered so as to make the sincerity of an individual's conscientious objection to war the test of conscience, rather than "religious training and belief." They also ask provision, similar to that in the British law, for the "absolutist." In the administration of the law, the AFSC suggests: (1) Government pay for those who are employed on government projects at the rate of privates' pay in the Army, and permission for COs to make similar arrangements with private employers. (2) A civilian board to handle all matters affecting COs, instead of the Selective Service Administration. (3) Permission for COs to seek individual assignments which will be accepted as work of national importance. (4) Provision for foreign service by COs. (5) Provision for dependency. (6) Compensation for injury and death.

The Federal Council's Executive Committee asked that overseas service and religious and social work be accepted as CPS projects, that the government pay CPS men and provide for their dependents, and that CO parole procedures be improved.

The NSBRO and the ACLU's National Committee on COs requested improvement of CO parole procedures, especially as applied to Jehovah's Witnesses, and that CO prisoners over 38 or physically unfit be released.

It would be appropriate for interested persons to write to Mr. Biddle in appreciation of his suggestions to Congress and urging him to consider also the suggestions made by these other groups. Members of Congress might also be urged to act upon these requests for reforms.

A Soldier Speaks Up

A soldier recently wrote to Alonzo Myers, chairman of the National Council Against Peacetime Conscription Now: "We depend upon courageous men like you to carry on for us until we can get back into civilian life and join you in the fight to keep our freedom. Peacetime conscription seems to knock in the head the ideals of Dumbarton Oaks and the very foundation of 'our way of life.' Can it be that they are attempting to foist fascism upon us?"

CORE Plans Action

The Congress of Racial Equality, in co-operation with the Chicago Committee of Racial Equality and an independent list of endorsers is sponsoring a summer non-violent direct action campaign in the race field. An interracial group of volunteers located in Chicago will investigate areas of racial tension, negotiate problems discovered, and if necessary undertake non-violent direct action. The campaign is intended to train leaders in non-violent techniques, to give help to groups already in the field, and to determine the effectiveness of a direct action program carried on full-time over a period of weeks or months.

Anyone may apply who is willing to give a minimum of two weeks, and it is hoped that many will give the full two months, from June 15 to August 15. Volunteers will be chosen from among the applicants by a committee of the national CORE organization. For further information write George M. Houser, 7100 Kinsman Road, Cleveland 4, Ohio.

Swedish FOR Group Asks Christian Peace

The Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation recently issued an urgent appeal intended to crystallize the thinking of Christians regarding the coming peace settlement and particularly the treatment of Germany.

It calls for co-operation and mutual confidence among the nations in working for the benefit of all—not a peace dictated by hatred and mistrust and aimed at promoting only the interests of the victors.

It urges all possible efforts to prevent individual citizens from taking personal revenge for cruelties and attempting to forestall legal convictions.

It asks that the treatment of war criminals be based on legal principles "in harmony with those western conceptions of justice which have been influenced by Christianity," treating all impartially regardless of nationality, and carefully distinguishing between individuals and states.

It warns that, although steps must be taken to prevent future aggression by Germany, her people must be afforded opportunity for spiritual and material recovery and for peacefully contributing to the recovery and development of Europe and the world. In this connection the statement made several important points: (1) That the re-education of Germany will not succeed unless it permits the co-operation of representatives of the German people and of neutral countries. (2) That if Germany is ever to be restored to the community of nations, present plans for relief of occupied countries must be extended to include Germany. (3) That the common view that the German people are incurably addicted to aggression is almost identical with Hitler's attitude toward the Jews, and a peace made on that basis would lead inevitably to a third world war. (4) The failure of the allied nations to assure the German people that "unconditional surrender" does not mean the destruction of their nation has prolonged the struggle and intensified its bitterness.

Future Status of Puerto Rico May Be Determined by Plebiscite

The greatest tragedy that has befallen Puerto Rico is the abysmal ignorance and unconcern of the American people. Intelligent and democratic policies in the part of the United States would have averted the present unfortunate situation. Puerto Rico now suffers the ignominy of colonial status, having been defined by the U.S. Supreme Court as "an unincorporated territory," while at the same time the people of the island are citizens of the U.S. and subject to conscription into the armed forces.

Puerto Rican leaders are seeking a plebiscite to tell what course the people wish to take. But it will be successful only if the U.S. Congress will first define the alternatives open to Puerto Rico, and also will agree to accept the decision of the Puerto Rican people as final. The three possibilities now receiving most consideration are (1) statehood, (2) independence, and (3) commonwealth (or associated free state).

The popular Party was elected to power on a platform which included the statement that the Party would not take a position in favor of any one political status for the Island. The Party is composed of many divergent elements; several of its ablest leaders advocate independence, a few prefer statehood, and some ask commonwealth status. Others, including Muñoz Marin, head of the Popular Party and the one political leader on the Island with an extensive popular following, have not committed themselves.

During the present session of Congress, and especially while the Tydings Bill for Puerto Rican independence has been up for hearings, the pro-independence leaders of the Popular Party and the leaders of the Congress for Independence (whose president is Dr. Concepcion de Gracia) have carried on an active campaign in favor of independence. The campaign has made itself felt through statements to the press, a few statements on the floor of the legislature (the Popular Party was quick to stop this because it might involve a breach of its campaign pledge), and through communications to Congress or committees of Congress.

On February 20, the Puerto Rican legislature passed a joint resolution asking the U.S. Congress to define the possible alternatives from which the people of Puerto Rico might choose their political future, and to authorize a plebiscite. However, a majority of the members of each house also joined in a personal statement sent to the committee of Congress considering the Tydings Bill, stating their support of the bill and of independence for Puerto Rico, though the Tydings Bill plebiscite would deal only with the question of approving or rejecting a constitution for a free and independent republic.

This support of the Tydings Bill is apparently based on uncertainty as to what position Muñoz Marin would take in the event of a plebiscite. Many well-informed Puerto Ricans and continentals believe that a majority of the people probably favor independence now, but that if a plebiscite were to be held following a thorough public debate and in that debate Muñoz were to favor "commonwealth," they believe the outcome would at least be doubtful. This indicates both that the people have not made up their minds and that Muñoz is by far the strongest leader in the political life of the people.

HERMAN WILL, JR.

RICHARD ROBERTS

Died April 10, 1945

Lo, as some venturer from
his stars receiving
Promise and presage of
sublime emprise.

He voyaged through life as a prophetic Christian, a creative pacifist, and an outstanding churchman. Born in Wales, he occupied pulpits there, in London, Brooklyn, Montreal and Toronto and became the first Moderator of the United Church of Canada. He was one of the founders of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, its active Secretary within less than a twelvemonth of the outbreak of the first World War, and one of the trio of early British members who contributed most to the initiation of the Fellowship in the U.S.A.

His Christianity came first. In a little book, "What's Best Worth Saying," he wrote years ago "Of the Business of Life" and after he had said, "Jesus represents the high-water mark of achievement of Life in the world" he confessed, "I want to discover the best securities in which to invest my life, so that when I am through with it, and Someone asks me, *'Well, and what did you make of it?'* I shall be able to stand up like a man, erect and unashamed, and answer, *'I have lived.'* And Someone shall answer me,—'Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.'"

On the first Sunday of World War I, when Richard Roberts entered his London pulpit, he observed that a number of German lads who had been accustomed to sit together in two pews in the church gallery were not there. He was appalled by the sudden realization that the lads of his congregation who had "worshipped God together in that church, might, under the orders of their superiors, be called to murder each other." And he tells us, "I knew when I left the church that morning that as a Minister of Christ I could take no part in a war."

Not many days afterwards he called together a meeting in his home to discuss the relations of Christians to the war. This was the seed of what a few months later became the FOR. To the first booklet put out by the Fellowship, *Christ and Peace,* Richard Roberts contributed an article, "The Quest of Christian Duty in Wartime." Here, among other things, he spoke of the duty of the Church.

"This world-order in which war is inherent," he said, "the Church exists to transform," When it supports the method of war, an end-product of the unredeemed world-order, the Church is "not only proclaiming its own failure, but is hauling down its own flag and hoisting instead the flag of the world." He did not propose that the Church should be passive or neutral; he urged that it summon its members to "the constructive presentation of love as it is revealed in the life and death of Jesus Christ, as the sufficient basis of human life and as the solvent of that chronic state of war in the social and international order out of which domestic unrest and external confusion arise." He saw that an immediate witness to the way of love was required. His essay concluded with the words,

"And those to whom the constraint of this testimony comes cannot afford to wait till the end of the war before they make it. They must make it now, for it is not for them to pick and choose the season of their obedience to Christ."

It was, we may believe, this simplicity toward the Master that held Richard Roberts to a true course both in success and adversity. Many a man would have been corrupted by his gifts of intellect, facility in preaching and writing, success in ecclesiastical preferment. Many another would have lost courage or become embittered after a serious brain operation had cruelly impaired his former powers. But Richard Roberts met both tests. When the second World War broke out he was among the stalwart group of Canadian preacher pacifists who joined in a clarion call to the Church in that country to choose Christ rather than Caesar. And the last fine service which he did for the FOR and this magazine was when, in New York—bowed down by physical and mental suffering—he wrote the famous Foreword of Vera Brittain's pamphlet, *Massacre by Bombing.*

Though the obliteration of cities and their inhabitants by bombs and warfare continues in intensified degree, yet this will pass and the seed of the future be found in God-directed lives like that of Richard Roberts. Christian, pacifist, churchman — he went ahead on a course that one day church and state will follow.

Britons Oppose Bombing

The growing barbarity of British-American air warfare has moved 24 leading clergymen of eight Christian denominations in England to issue "An Appeal to All Christians" to urge a cessation of "terror-bombing." The appropriateness of the appeal is evidenced by almost daily newspaper accounts of ruthless obliteration bombing of German and Japanese cities with the consequent murder of thousands of helpless refugees and civilians.

The statement declares: "It is grievous that those who are responsible for this policy should be the peoples that profess the highest humanitarian and even Christian principles. . . . We believe that there is a deeply distressed, widespread, and unexpressed Christian conscience against the pursuit of victory by unlimited violence without any concerted effort upon the part of Christian leaders to seek a cessation of horrors which could be avoided by the observance of the hitherto recognized rules of international law. . . . Might not a gesture of compassion and mercy help to break down the fear in German hearts that unless they fight to the last there is no hope for the future? This is a better way to avoid the needless prolongation of the war than ever-increasing ruthlessness, which is a surrender to our real enemy, the Nazi spirit."

Since the publication of Vera Brittain's "Massacre by Bombing" about a year ago the allied air forces have doubled and redoubled the fury of their attacks and have openly admitted the abandonment of the former policy of attacking only military objectives.

A letter issued at the end of February by the British Bombing Restriction Committee, Corder Catchpool, secretary, declared that when the German cities of Dresden and Chemnitz were crammed with refugees from Poland and Silesia the RAF attacked them with "an indiscriminate downpour of bombs, camouflaged for the British public by such statements as that 'only military objectives were attacked' and by picturesque terms such as 'cascade bombing.' This means 'area bombing,' as opposed to pin-pointing, and carried out so rapidly and extensively that no aiming is possible, and is justified in Parliament by regarding the whole city as a military target. The result is that Dresden, a city world-famous for art and music, has been almost completely destroyed; its opera house, concert halls, and colleges in ruins. But still worse, many thousands of refugees have been killed, aged persons, women and children, for practically all able-bodied men will have gone to the front." The letter also reports that 750,000 incendiary bombs were dumped on Chemnitz, which would mean that "thousands of sleeping people must have been entrapped in circles of fire and burnt to death."

Jottings

Contrary to the general impression in the U.S.A., a response to Belgain appeals for more food shipments would not entail the use of American cargo ships. Roger Motz, president of the Belgain Liberal Party, wrote recently in the Brussels newspaper *Le Soir,* that "the food situation would be immensely improved if Belgium were permitted to ship the products of the Belgian Congo from Matadi to Antwerp in her own vessels." No American or British transport would even be required for this project.

* * *

The date of the FOR work camp in Clinton, Mississippi, has been changed from the month of July to the month of August.

* * *

The Socialist Party presents six problems which it believes must be solved by the nations if they would insure world peace: economic security for all peoples; rise in living standards; world organization based on peoples, not rulers; freedom for colonial peoples; repudiation of slave labor anywhere in the world; and universal disarmament.

* * *

Pacifica Center at 3302 South Grand Avenue, Los Angeles 7, California, now houses the office of the Southwest Area FOR, the WRL office, and meeting rooms, a reading room, a library and bookshop. It is a well built old residence which has been renovated and furnished by members. A hostel is maintained for COs and is in constant use. The Center, located in a transition area inhabited by various racial groups, fills a long-felt need for a centralized place for the coordination of pacifist activities. Pacifists from all over are cordially invited to write, phone or come in and visit whenever they have an opportunity.

* * *

The Presbyterian Peace Fellowship, an organization of Presbyterians seeking to serve the will of God and his injunctions to peace, is now being formed to work for a Christion world order. This Fellowship testifies against military conscription, wishes to provide friendship, counsel and support for Presbyterian COs, and strengthen the witness for peace within the Presbyterian Church. Presbyterians who are interested to know more are encouraged to write to the Fellowship, 913 Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Building, Philadelphia 9, Pennsylvania. The Organizing Committee is composed of the following: Phillips P. Elliott, Stanley A. Hunter, D. Ned Linegar, Ralph Norman Mould, John Oliver Nelson, Alfred S. Nickless and Mrs. E. Graham Wilson.

Kirby Page will speak in several Southern cities, according to word from Constance Rumbough, Southern FOR Secretary. The names of those in charge of the various meetings are listed so that interested persons may write for further information. May 27, Louisville, Ky., Maurice Benz, 2006 Preston St.; May 28-29, Berea, Ky., Emma Reeverts, Berea College; May 30, Lexington, Ky., Dr. Myron Hopper, College of the Bible; June 1, Knoxville, Tenn., Dr. W. Rodemann, Knoxville College; June 2-3, Gatlinburg, Tenn., Carroll Feagins, CPS Camp; June 4, Athens, Tenn., Rev. Bernie L. Hampton, 514 West Main St.; June 6-7, Nashville, Tenn., Dr. W. K. Anderson, 3749 Whitland Ave.; June 9-10, McGehee, Ark.; Nat R. Griswold; Relocation Center.

* * *

Powell House, the Quaker hostel which has done so much to help refugees to adjust to life in a new country, to find them jobs, and give them a center for friendly intercourse, useful work, and entertainment, is appealing to friends for the names of places to which refugees can go in the summer. If you have any information, please send names and addresses, together with specific details in regard to location, type of accommodation, and terms, of small inns, tourist houses, farms, or country homes taking paying guests, both in the neighborhood of New York and Philadelphia and in more distant parts of the eastern states. Seashore places which are reliable and inexpensive would be particularly welcome. Those who have such information are asked to notify Elizabeth Fry, Powell House, 130 East 70th St., New York 21, N. Y.

* * *

United Press dispatches from the American Seventh Army on the western front, quoted in Scott Nearing's *World Events,* report a dramatic incident of fraternization. An American hospital unit of twenty-five men was captured during the German break-through in December. The German medical unit in that sector was short of both manpower and supplies. They immediately separated the U.S.A. medical unit from the combat troops and established a joint program of operations. German-American litter-bearer teams went out in search of wounded men, brought them to the first-aid station that had been set up, and turned them over to an American and a German doctor, who took care of the cases in the order of the seriousness of the wounds, without any reference to nationality. This went on for two days, until the town was recaptured by American forces.

The Peacemaker's Bookshelf

Wounds of War

Account Rendered. by Vera Brittain. Macmillan, 1944. 339 pages. $3.00.

A plea for greater understanding of the mental needs of men psychically wounded by war, this novel presents pictures of prisons, asylums, and factories, as well as discussions on the cause and cure of war. This latter however is subordinated to the main theme of individual suffering and mental regeneration.

Francis Halkin, a young musician, wounded and shell-shocked in World War I, returns to take up his career, but is defeated by a re-occurence of his memory blackout on the night of his concert. He then becomes manager of his father's factory, and a successful composer. After the outbreak of World War II, however, strain and anxiety bring on another attack, during which he causes the death of his wife and he is accused of murder. The book is concerned with his trials, his days in the asylum, and his final spiritual triumph over fear.

Fine as the thesis is, it is unfortunately handicapped by a stiff and laborious style, the characters moving automatically and speaking in stiff little speeches. Topics which need discussion are brought in mechanically and without subtlety, and though argued convincingly enough, are not presented so that the reader feels any sense of participation or reality in the characters. The book is an excellent tract, but not a good novel. There is suspense and interest, but no feeling of flesh and blood, and for the reader no real concern for the people involved.

However the *issues* involved are real and find their human counterparts by the thousands in the men returning from this war; and if the warnings and truths presented here are not heeded, society will become even further demoralized, and human suffering will continue long after the soldiers have become civilians and their battles have been forgotten.

JOSEPHINE W. JOHNSON

Confession of Faith

Between Heaven and Earth, by Franz Werfel. Philosophical Library. 252 pages. $3.00.

This book is Franz Werfel's confession of faith in God. In it he appears as a Christian certainly in the ethical and mystical sense, almost if not quite in the orthodox sense too, though he believes in an ultimate conversion of the Jewish people rather than in individual Jews joining a Christian church.

The first part of the book consists of addresses to German audiences in the years 1930-1937 and may be summed up in the following quotations: "Skeptic always rhymes with septic; the spirit died of intellectual poisoning" under the influence of naturalism and materialism. "He who deifies the intellect makes the source of errors the goal of knowledge. . . . But heaven be praise, our soul is much too clever to be so clever. A beautiful face moves us ineffably; a great spiritual work forces us to our knees. . . . What can each individual do to uncover these values? . . . Let him first of all realize how monstrously we are, all of us, wasting our precious time. Let him salvage one hour of solitude from the ruins of his day. . . . This world that calls itself civilized can be spiritually healed only if it finds its way back to true Christianity."

The other half of Werfel's book he calls Theologoumena. It consists of meditations, sometimes in one sentence, sometimes several pages, devoted to spiritual themes and is eminently suited for use in daily personal meditation and prayer. Werfel is an implacable foe of statism, of all forms of regimentation: "Man is no longer his own proprietor, but the property of a state from which there is no appeal. . . . As long as even a single state on earth exercies this unnatural, diabolical, soul-destroying, character-breaking power, just so long—despite the best-laid peace plans—world war will reign in perpetuity." A. J. M.

What is Democracy?

Democracy Is Not Enough, by Scott Nearing. Island Press, 1945, 153 pp. $1.00, paper; $2.00, cloth.

In this book Scott Nearing presents a thumbnail analysis of the plight of modern society and the forces which have produced present conditions. He then presents his own prescription for changes which might solve "The Social Problem: to establish and maintain conditions under which the largest number of human beings will have the greatest opportunity for a full, rewarding life." In a way, his title is misleading, for this is no indictment of democracy as such, but rather of a society which has considered itself democratic without actually accepting all the implications of the democratic ideal.

The historical analysis is couched in such simple terms that it is practically a primer of the traditional socialist analysis of the breakdown of capitalist society. It places most of the blame for our present ills on the ruling classes in all countries, except the Soviet Union. Nearing believes that the Soviets were on the way towards a solution of the problems of human organization, despite the fact that the coercive state which they used as the instrument for achieving their broad social purposes was very different from the free society which he himself proposes.

The real contribution of the book lies in its other two sections: "Preserving Popular Government" and "Democracy Plus." Here is some basic thinking about the underlying causes of our present difficulties and their remedies.

Scott Nearing insists that the fundamental basis of democracy is the concept of the dignity of every individual human personality. But the individual in turn has an obligation to make himself worthy of respect, by accepting the duties imposed upon him by membership in a free society.

Since nationalism is a device of the ruling classes to prevent the unity of the peoples of the world, as Nearing sees it, effective popular government must be world-wide. He maintains that totalitarianism will set the pattern for the twentieth century (p. 93) and that those who advocate his principles will encounter such opposition from the ruling classes that it will be almost necessary for them to have some means of livelihood divorced from the usual processes of capitalism. Only when the means of production are socially owned will man be free enough to realize his potentialities.

There are only two points at which I should take issue with Nearing's presentation. For one thing he still holds to the organic concept of society, and is led partially astray by pushing this false analogy. At another point (p. 125) he maintains that the discipline necessary in the new society must be *imposed* by the community upon its citizens, and that the individual must require these disciplines "of himself and of his fellow citizens." The list of democratic disciplines that follow is an excellent one, but it would seem that the essence of democracy would be lost if citizens were *coerced* into accepting them. In a democratic society, social emphasis must be upon freedom; individual emphasis must be upon discipline and duty. The failure of both society and the individual in our time to accept these mutual limitations may well be the basic reason for the plight of modern civilization.

THEODORE PAULLIN

FOR Field Secretaries

South: Constance Rumbough, 1804 Grand Avenue, Nashville 4, Tenn.; *Midwest:* Emerson Schwenk, 740 Rust Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Northwest:* Mary Farquharson, 4033 University Way, Seattle, Wash.; *Northern California:* Caleb Foote, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley 7, Cal.; *Southwest:* Louise Rounds, 1161 W. Olympic Blvd., Los Angeles 27, Cal.; *Rocky Mountain:* Margaret Rohrer, 1418 Grape Street, Denver, Colo.; *Rural:* Warren Nelson, Prairie du Sac, Wis.; *Action Projects:* George Houser, 7100 Kinsman Rd., Cleveland, Ohio.

Pro and Con

IWW Uses NVDA

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In the American Stove Company plant in Cleveland is an unusual union, which uses unorthodox but effective tactics. When the workers decided, about a year ago, that there weren't enough time clocks in service, so that they were delayed in getting home, they negotiated first, as any union would. Although the company had more time clocks, "a shortage of help" prevented it from installing them. Negotiations broke down. But instead of striking—tying up production and losing pay—one night all the workers "forgot" to punch out on their way home. Within twenty-four hours, the company managed to install the extra clocks.

On another occasion, a roof over one department leaked. Negotiations were fruitless, so the next time it rained the men left the department "so that wet feet would not result in any absenteeism." As they busied themselves in other parts of the plant, it was not a strike, but their job remained undone. The roof was soon fixed.

These examples of non-violent direct action arise from the philosophy of the Industrial Workers of the World. Older pacifists and students of labor history will recall the IWW's militant anti-war stand during World War I, its dramatic and successful "free speech" campaigns from 1906 to 1916, and its forty-year championing of industrial unionism.

As the IWW has not been in the headlines for the last decade or more, many of its sympathizers in pacifist circles have thought it dead. Far from it! It is smaller, less dramatic and more stable than during its first, and most famous, twenty years of existence. It is still anti-war, perhaps the only union of which this can be said. Today it is actively planning a larger future, and raising a General Organizing Fund to implement those plans.

Canada, Chile, and Australia have active organizations affiliated with the IWW. In this country, locals are found from coast to coast, with full-time offices in Cleveland, Chicago and Duluth. Workers in any industry can join.

KENNETH IVES

Won't You Join Us?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I have a grievance. You turn out a top-notch magazine, one that should so move its readers that they would flood the national office of the organization which FELLOWSHIP represents with cries of "Can't I come work for you?" And yet what happens? We go around begging for men, women, singles, doubles, anything—to come and work with us.

Couldn't you in some way let them know what a most remarkable office we have? That there's no end of excitement, what with somebody on the staff always leaving for or coming from the custody of the Department of Justice or Selective Service? Maybe if you told them a little about us it would help. For instance, that our ages range from 20 (tall blonde Marjie from Colorado) up to 60; only one native New Yorker among the 24 of us; all kinds of work experiences behind us; and what a range of interests, from art, ballet and the like, to ornithology and Uncle Nevin's story-telling!

You might also let them know that, unless someone hurries along, Nevin Sayre will have to be typing his own letters, while Barbara Pfeil, his present secretary, presents her CPS husband Hartley with an heir. And that members will have to come and call for their own book orders unless someone says to Larry Gara, "Don't worry, kid; I'll do the wrapping and mailing while you 'visit' Ashland again." Then, too, Peggy Taylor, who takes in the money, intends to perpetuate the name of her parolee husband, Walt, come summer. So all those pledges the readers are sending in—and I'm sure they haven't forgotten (or have they?)—will just go to waste unless somebody out in Missouri or Idaho, or maybe even Massachusetts, decides that our cause deserves some full-time support and comes hither. And then there's A. J. whose secretary has gotten the wild idea of emigrating from this quiet island of Manhattan. She reports that after three years of working with him she still thinks he is a perfect "chief" and somebody's missing an education by not popping up to replace her.

No doubt our office manager, Irene Ford, could tell you of other openings that will be coming along, 'cause it always seems that there are places to be filled in our office—we just keep right on growing so! Three floors now, all ours—if we produce the rent each month! Make a special plea for trained stenographer-typists!

So how about introducing a little national office promotion, guaranteeing newcomers a happy and useful time, whether behind a typewriter, doing clerical work, wrapping packages, or just looking pretty or handsome? You might also mention that working for a national "cause" office is also a good way to keep down the income tax payments! (You know, we stay in the low income brackets.)

Hopefully,
DORIS GROTEWOHL

A PAGE OF COMMENT BY READERS

FOR A SUMMER WORTH WHILE

Members of the FOR will do well to investigate these

OPPORTUNITIES FOR STUDY, FELLOWSHIP, AND SERVICE

(This directory is not advertising, but a service to our readers.)

American Friends Service Committee
2 Social Service Groups for Women, June 22-Aug. 17.
Peace Caravans in 8 states.
5 Mexican Service Projects and Seminars.
11 Institutes of International Relations.
2 Students-in-Industry Groups.
Work Camps, coast to coast.
Special Projects for High School youth.
Address: American Friends Service Committee, Summer Projects, 20 S. 12 St., Phila. 7, Pa.

American Youth Hostels
Junior Training Center, Meredith, N. H., July 7 to Aug. 31.
Leaders' Training Course, Northfield, June 24-30.
8 sponsored trips in Canada, U. S., Mexico.
Address: American Youth Hostels, Northfield, Mass.

Associated Junior Work Camps
3 work camps in New York and Connecticut for high school youth, June-August.
Address: Associated Junior Work Camps, Inc., 101 Barnett Street, New Haven 15, Connecticut.

Baptist Youth Fellowship
5 summer service projects, coast to coast.
Address: Baptist Youth Fellowship Summer Service, Projects, 152 Madison Av., New York 16, New York.

Church of the Brethren
Work Camps: Rock House, Ky., June 15-Aug. 10.
Flat Creek, Ky., June 8-July 20.
Address: Neva Hollinger, Trotwood, Ohio.
Harrisburg, Penna., June 18-August 25.
Address: Ruth L. Kreider, 100 Lombard Street, Philadelphia 47, Pennsylvania.

College Summer Service Group
Service and study in various social agencies in New York City, June 28-August 15.
Address: Laurence T. Hosie, Director, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

Congregational Christian Churches
Student Summer Service for leadership and community work.
Address: Dr. Thomas A. Tripp, Secretary, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York.
Akron Service Project, probably June 23-Aug. 4.
Numerous junior and senior high school camps.
Address: Priscilla Chase, 1006 Hippodrome Bldg., Cleveland 14, Ohio.

Fellowship Farm Work Camp
Boys and girls 12 to 14 (interracial) from pacifist homes. July 29-August 12.
Address: Fellowship Farm, Rte. 1, Oregon, Wisc.

Fellowship of Reconciliation
Nashville, Tenn., Month of August.
Clinton, Miss., Month of August.
Both for persons above high school age.
Address: Constance Rumbough, 1804 Grand Avenue, Nashville 4, Tennessee.

Home Missions Council of N. America
Migrant labor camps, young people as leaders, and teachers.
Western Area, Address: Mrs. F. E. Shotwell, 3330 W. Adams Blvd., Los Angeles 16, Cal.
Midwest Area: Miss Helen White, 203 N. Wabash, Chicago 1, Illinois.
Eastern Area: Miss Edith Lowry, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York.

Lisle Fellowship
2 practical laboratories for college and graduate students.
Lisle, New York, June 6-July 18.
Lookout Mountain, Colo., July 20-August 31.
Address: DeWitt C. Baldwin, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, New York.

Methodist Youth Fellowship
7 work camps and summer projects.
Address: National Conference of the Methodist Youth Fellowship, 810 Broadway, Nashville 2, Tenn.

Presbyterian, U.S.A., Youth Dept.
4 youth caravans at 4 colleges.
4 work conferences in varying situations.
Address: Director of Summer Conferences, 1105 Witherspoon Bldg., Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Student Volunteer Movement
Interdenominational listing of Christian summer service opportunities.
Address: Student Volunteer Movement, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, New York.

Willowemoc
Interracial children's camp for boys and girls 4 to 14. June 29-August 30.
Director, Dr. Thomas L. Patrick, prominent Harlem pediatrician; Co-Director, Bernard Hughes, Dept. of Physical Education, N. Y. U.
Address: Camp Willowemoc, 221 West 139th Street, New York 30, New York.

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